R

632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone
●237 in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride
[436] price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces
[727] called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone because they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

578 721 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 611 ●237 [556] The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak can occur. In the latter case a daughter or daughters are given to the family in place of the price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 766 I was told that they used to put the bodies of the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 621 578 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to get the assistant matter straightened out. It is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; the special woman's horsetail coiffure [302] is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[1]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; the [784] term suku wung is used here (74)[1] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp.19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

[2] [See bibliography, cat. 115 --Analyst]

We.

778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamië as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
184

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

524 In the afternoon on the alun-alun in Ruteng we saw a bamboo-clapping game. Two parallel bamboos were placed on the ground, and squatting behind them, facing each other, were two pairs of women. Each pair held two bamboos in their hands. These bamboos were placed athwart the lying bamboos. In unison they banged the bamboos three times against the sticks which were lying down, and on the fourth beat clapped them together, sliding them across on the sticks. Then the girl tried to hopscotch between the moving bamboos so that her ankles would not get caught on the clapping together of the long horizontal bamboos. The clapping went faster and faster--one, two, three, four --until she got caught. A man tried it too, and then some others. This is unique [actually [171] rather widespread in southeast Asia, for example, in Hainan, Philippines, Indo-China]. The mandur said they usually do this in moonlight with long rows of clappers, and with several pairs, male and female, doing the hopscotch stuff. They also have this in Larantuka and Ende.

824 Teno does not mean tanah, the latter being the same in Manggarai. Teno means the kind of wood used for the lodok post. Hence, tu'a teno.

342 531 ● 237 [171] On the house ridge of the tuan tanah of Ndung between the wooden buffalo horns is a human head of wood. Could this be related to the Toradja use of human heads berween horns, and also connected with the horn headdresses of the dancers and whippers here? The horns are used only on the houses of the tuan tanah. On other houses different decorations are used. The horns indicate that there is a drum located in the house on which they are placed.

114 Notes from Memmes (Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XX, 1931; (1), 384-390): 1

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

624
565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
346 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
574 a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
[782] mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1] has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
342 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
624 side the steps. They are rather thin and low
532 and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

●237 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru
342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the
[624] house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa -- Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 ●237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 124 824 769 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
514 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

R

000 since then there have been no wars.

614 The great suku feasts are a kind of re-
574 fresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku
692 of the area come and feast and pledge friend-
624 ship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for re-pairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed
[342] animals. Nowadays he throws them away after
[178] eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 As for legends and stories of the past, at
533 first they said that they have none, or rather
[124] that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat.13--Analyst]

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no offerings, however, at these rest places.

231 The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
411 as they are released (probably a hunting survival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja spearing?

Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
556 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
237 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
177 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a
438 toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he comes through Flores and the islands to buy stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts. He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone. And he said that Maumere, which is relatively rich in various products, is cornering a large part of the tusks of Flores. In other places, for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer tusks now, and people are beginning to pay money instead. The Maumere folk, he said, think nothing of money. The real wealth and goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks. He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in originally and told the rajas here that they were the teeth of the naga (which was important locally before that). The radjas paid dearly for them, and soon all the folk here wanted them. Hence, thousands were imported by the Chinese. It may have been the same situation as that which obtains with the mokko in the Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
461 want very little. They work a little, just
185 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
273 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The assistant said that many have been sold because the people need money so badly. Many were sold to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

614 When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
241 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
796 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
231 census material. We went off there and attended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite for the beginning of the agricultural season. The big kampong rite was held first, and here it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has a similar rite, and then again each ama. They are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku (here Ama Dotang /usually Ama Kottang/ which is near the main korke). The two suku represented here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head and feet) were not from Leworita but from Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did the rites, but the Christians stood all around, and they ate what they could get later, probably. A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
621 meente are:
832

1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamië
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better, and the folklore concerning them is fantastic. They are reckoned with and theoretically exchanged when they don't even exist. They keep the marriage system going. They are parallel to pure paper credit--something like international balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2) Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tandjung Bunga (and the folk there call the people of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e., mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of Adonara (perhaps the people there would also